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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how the Women's Studies Center (Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, CEM), a feminist, women-led nongovernmental organization (NGO), is contributing to socio-cultural change in Chile 11 years after the country's democratic transition. CEM merges the theoretical and the practical, and the personal and the political through education and advocacy. Through research, its core activity, the CEM is raising a gender consciousness in women and society at large, and transforming the social and political identities of women. By facilitating the social and political engagement of women and the broader society, the CEM challenges gender-based marginalization, authoritarianism, and discrimination at the personal, public policy, and institutional levels. Through a review of the women's movement in Chile, the history of the CEM, the CEM's characteristics within the analytical framework of women-led NGOs, and the CEM's critique of gender-based educational inequalities in Chile, it is argued that the CEM is ultimately deepening democracy in Chile. (Contains 15 notes and 17 references.) (Author/BT)

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Caroline King

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The Women's Studies Center – A Women's-led NGO
Deepening Democracy in Chile:
Educating Women through Personal Empowerment and Political Agency

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Paper presented at the
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"Education is clearly intertwined in many ways with the actions of the women's movement. It is difficult and even artificial to try to separate political objectives from practices with an education content and their consequent lessons" (Stromquist, 2000, p.95).

This paper explores how the Women's Studies Center (*Centro de Estudios de la Mujer*, CEM), a feminist, women-led nongovernmental organization is contributing to socio-cultural change in Chile 11 years after the country's democratic transition. CEM merges the theoretical and the practical, and the personal and political through education and advocacy. Through research, the CEM's core activity, the CEM is raising a gender consciousness in women and society at large, and transforming the social and political identities of women. By facilitating the social and political engagement of women and the broader society, the CEM challenges gender-based marginalization, authoritarianism, and discrimination at the personal, public policy and institutional levels. Through a review of the women's movement in Chile, the history of the CEM, the CEM's characteristics within the analytical framework of women-led nongovernmental organizations, and the CEM's critique of gender-based educational inequalities in Chile, I argue that the CEM is ultimately deepening democracy in Chile.

The Women's Movement in Chile

The Chilean women's movement, the rise of feminist theory in the country, and the specific gender analysis work of the CEM must be understood within Chile's sociocultural and political history. Schmukler et al. (1998) assert that upon achieving suffrage in 1949, the women's movement lay dormant until

> paradoxically, the end of the long feminist silence came during the military dictatorship under General Augusto Pinochet [(1973-1990)]. The new organization of women under the military regime was both a response to economic and political crises and a manifestation of opposition to authoritarianism…Chilean women organized by creating diverse associations, not necessarily interrelated, around issues such as human rights, economic survival, political participation, and gender. (p. 628)

Chuchryk (1989) illuminates how Chilean women, by empowering their personal identities, negotiated new social and political roles and forged space for political advocacy, even in the face of state-sponsored violence. Chuchryk (1989) argues that,

> given the circumstances of this reign of terror and its consequences, it is not surprising that women—as the mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and grandmothers of the victims of repression—were the first to mobilize in opposition to the dictatorship…it was precisely women's traditional public invisibility which allowed them to become political actors during a time when it was extremely dangerous for anyone to do so. (p.131)

Throughout Latin America, women-led nongovernmental organizations "through their growing numbers and their strategies of interaction with, and challenge of, traditional sources of power—have been a critical force in altering political culture and building a civil society" (Bravo and Monkman, 1998 p. 490). This has certainly been the case in Chile, both under Pinochet and since the transition to democracy. Women's organizations, particularly those with a feminist orientation, inherently linked their demands for democracy with their quest for a realignment of gender roles and power dynamics. According to Schmukler et al. (1998),

> under military rule, the organizations of civil society became a substitute political arena that contributed to the politicization of the private and social spheres, facilitating the emergence of specific demands over and above ideological alignments…This breakdown of public space as male space and private space (or the home) as female

> space allowed gender demands to become more visible and more political—to assume an antiauthoritarian character that was both antimilitarist and antipatriarchal. (p. 628)

However, Chilean women did not declare the transition to democracy in 1990 a total triumph. In fact, "the democratic transition made apparent the paradox of authoritarian relationships and gender and ethnic inequalities in the state, political, and private institutions. This political opening, along with specific historical conditions, helped Latin American women start their own struggle against authoritarianism and marginalization. Their struggle was possible because of the awareness of their subordination within the political parties, the state, the family, the community, and local organizations" (Schumkler and Valenzuela, 1998, p. 69). I will now discuss how the CEM has evolved in this changing socio-cultural and political context.

Background on CEM

According to the CEM's internet homepage, "The Women's Study Center is an independent, non-profit organization founded in 1984 by women social scientists and economists concerned with gender issues…it conducts research, training, communication and consulting programs, concentrating on the fields of labor and employment, citizenship and political participation, and public policy planning" (http://www.cem.cl/eque.htm "About CEM," 2001). CEM boasts significant roots within the Chilean feminist movement under the dictatorship. It bears the legacy of the *Círculo de Estudios de la Mujer* (Women's Studies Circle), founded in 1977 in order to counteract "the lack of knowledge about women in Chile" (Chuchryk, 1989, p. 146). The *Círculo*, comprised feminist researchers and activists, "focused on both generating that knowledge, and generating consciousness… It was the organization which played a central role in placing women's issues on the political agenda" (Chuchryk, 1998, p.146). In 1983, the *Círculo* split into two groups: the *Centro de Estudios de la Mujer* and the *Centro de Análisis y Difusión de la Condición de la Mujer—La Morada* (Center of Analysis and Diffusion of the Situation of Women—*La Morada*) (Chuchryk, 1998, p. 146). Chuchryk (1998) distinguishes between the two women's organizations according to the differing,

but complementary, nature of their core work: "CEM became a research oriented organization, fashioned after the other alternative research organizations which have sprung up since 1973. *La Morada* took on the political, activists, and conscious-raising activities" (p. 146).

Since its inception, the CEM has been dedicated to raising consciousness among women and society at large regarding the authoritarian nature of how gender functions in Chile, in both the personal and political spheres. The CEM defines gender as a social construction that has led to differentiation by sex and gender discrimination in the family, society and state:

> Gender is a socio-cultural category that involves men as much as women and the differences in terms of roles and activities that they carry out in society, and implies an unequal distribution of resources, authority, etc. that produces differences in their capacity to influence others through the regulation and legitimatization of decision-making in distinct systems: the family, the community, the market, and the political. (Todaro, 1994, p.8)[1]

In order to more fully understand the nature and work of the CEM, I now place the CEM within the broader framework of discussion regarding women-led and feminist nongovernmental organizations.

Women-led NGOs: A Framework

Nelly Stromquist asserts that, "transformative work in women's education—in the form of both oppositional discourse and practical actions against inequities—has been undertaken mostly by women-based or feminist nongovernmental organizations" (Stromquist, 1999, p.194). The CEM provides a compelling case study that confirms the validity of Stromquist's premise. The CEM demonstrates that personal empowerment and political agency are inextricably linked, and inherently educational. Through research, women's and public education, and advocacy, the CEM is transforming not only Chilean women's social and political identities, but ultimately, the broader society.

Social scientists studying women-led nongovernmental organizations underscore the importance of identifying the orientation underlying a group's mission, goals and activities. Bravo and Monkman (1998) distinguish between two main schools of thought: women's organizations that

emphasize "the *situation* of poverty of women," and strive to meet women's basic needs versus those that analyze "the *position* of women" from a feminist perspective, challenging the unequal social status of women and calling for societal transformation (p. 487). The CEM clearly represents the latter. "For many years [women] have been questioning the role that society attributes them, and they have been successful at bringing their demands to the international arena…what remains to be done now is transforming reality" ("Sobre el género," 1996). [2]

Another salient characteristic of some women-led organizations, and the CEM in particular, is the adoption of the feminist agenda. According to Stromquist (2000), "the construction and diffusion of feminist ideas are closely linked to the women's movement, which is crystallized in women-led nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)" (p. 75). For the CEM, "feminism gave life to the ideas, and questioned the oppressive beliefs and relationships…it showed the power exerted not only by the institutions of the State, but also in the everyday interactions, in both the large and small social spaces" ("Las mujeres," 2000).[3] The CEM embodies Stromquist's conception of the analytic and didactic functions of feminist theory:

> Feminist perspectives share a double impact with other social movements. Movements both awaken in their members a critical awareness of their surroundings, and also influence public decisions, especially on issues regarding national development in third world countries. NGOs have sought both vindication—demanding political rights equal to men—and liberation—creating new social identities. The character of both these tasks is eminently educational. (Stromquist, 2000, p. 75)

Over the past decade, feminist scholars and practitioners have increasingly challenged themselves and their constituencies to embrace broader issues of social inequalities within the global feminist perspective. Stromquist (2000) articulates this shift by asserting that "the discourse has moved toward 'full citizenship,' 'social justice,' and toward women's rights as 'human rights.' …This new perspective drives the women's movement to look beyond the question of gender" (p. 81). Within the Chilean context of a repressive dictatorship and ensuing transition to democracy, the CEM and other feminist organizations have articulated and advocated for women's rights within a

broader context of human rights and democratic citizenship. The CEM recognizes the "transformative potential of the feminist arguments that enrich public debates and press for a change in the culture, in a more democratic, just, and free sense" ("Las mujeres," 2000).[4]

Postmodernism, which informs feminist theory, demands a revisionist conception of knowledge production. According to McGovern (1999), "postmodern analysis has helped to broaden ways of thinking about representations of reality; the dominance of certain knowledge; and culture, power and knowledge relations" (p. 5). These perspectives bear significantly upon the CEM, whose core activity is research: "The essence of CEM --and the activity that makes possible and supports its other work-- is research. Solidly grounded and discerning analysis from CEM strives to explain gender relations and illuminate their interaction with and influence on other forms of social, economic and political behavior." (http://www.cem.cl/eque.htm "About CEM: Research," 2001). The CEM engages in feminist epistemology, as defined by Sutton (1998), which "is concerned with reforming or reconstructing scientific practice in a manner that equalizes power between social scientists and the people they study,...seeks to construct scientific analysis in a manner that is responsible about the specificity of concerns, [and]...considers not only the construction, but also the validation of knowledge as a social process and proposes means for making such validation into a more democratic process" (p. 14).

Through the means and ends of research, the CEM unifies personal empowerment and political agency through concrete knowledge production. In terms of research methodology, the CEM adopts Sutton's argument for the need to use feminist research to inform public policy. Sutton (1998) asserts that, "ethnographic research focused on women thus can begin to uncover the specific circumstances in which women construct their lives. Such understanding would appear invaluable as an input to policy processes" (p. 20). CEM explains that "our researchers apply a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches. They draw on contributions from the social sciences,

examine statistical data from secondary sources, and conduct their own field studies. Opinion surveys, personal interviews, and in-depth biographies are only some of the tools that CEM specialists use to examine issues and topics from different angles." ((http://www.cem.cl/eque.htm "About CEM: Research," Retrieved November 1, 2001). CEM's publications, which include working papers, books, journal articles, and *Arguments for Change* (*Argumentos para el cambio)*, a monthly policy letter, provide the vehicle for disseminating research and practicing agency. CEM states its explicit commitment to linking education and advocacy: "sharing viewpoints and findings on gender issues with other professionals, policy makers, the general public and with women in particular is one of our major purposes. Our information programs put issues relating to gender on the public agenda and help shape public opinion" (http://www.cem.cl/eque.htm "About CEM: Communications," Retrieved November 1, 2001).

In addition to research and publications, the CEM actively strives to awaken a critical consciousness about gender through education and training programs. By engaging women through education, the CEM facilitates a type of learning and knowledge that "helps promote the development and strengthening of new identities and visions of gender." (Stromquist 2000, 89) The CEM offers formal, nonformal and informal educational experiences for women.

First, the CEM offers a professional certificate program in Gender and Society Studies along with four partner institutions, the Academic University of Christian Humanism (*Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano*), the Women's Development Studies Center (*Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo de la Mujer*, CEDEM), the Women's Institute (*Instituto de la Mujer*), and FLACSO-Chile. Through a formal curriculum, participants "critically analyze social and cultural phenomena from a gender perspective and learn to apply this conceptual and methodological tool in dealing with situations that arise in different professions" (http://www.cem.cl/ediploma.htm "Program in Gender and Society Studies," Retrieved November 1, 2001). The courses within the

eight-month program explore how gender functions in the private and public arenas. Course topics include the Theoretical and Methodological Foundations of Gender as an Analytic Category; the Family in Private Life, Society's Eyes and Public Discourse; Citizenship, Identities, and Subjectivity; Economics, Employment and Gender; the Law Viewed from a Gender Perspective, and Education and Gender (http://www.cem.cl/ediploma.htm "Program in Gender and Society Studies, Retrieved November 1, 2001).

The CEM also offers instrumental nonformal and informal educational experiences for women. Stromquist (2000) offers an insightful analysis of these concepts and activities:

> adult women learn through nonformal education (defined as education outside of the school setting but whose explicit purpose is the transference of knowledge) in frequent workshops sponsored by women's groups, but even more through informal education (which occurs through social and political engagement), such as participation in movement actions, in preparation for national or world encounters and in participation in these forums. (p.76)

The CEM offers nonformal education training programs to working women in which "new categories of analysis are used to interpret social realities and to impart gender-related findings to individuals and groups in ways that help them develop and increase their personal and organizational resources" (http://www.cem.cl/eque.htm "About CEM: Training," Retrieved November 1, 2001).

By facilitating women's entree into a critical self-awareness of gender, and the unequal power, resources, opportunities and rights available to women, the CEM calls women into political action and thus offers informal educational experiences. Stromquist (2000) defines the "content of new knowledge and current learning processes" taking place in informal education in her "Typology of Educational Processes within Women's Movements" (p. 96 Table 1.5). These include: "Experiences that increase knowledge and skills about organization and mobilization; Experiences that increase knowledge and skills about democratic forms of participation and leadership; Experiences that increase the capacity to identify and analyze social and gender issues; Developing

capacities to critically analyze the surrounding reality; [and] Developing capacities to create counter-hegemonic discourses and alternative sociocultural views" (Stromquist, 2000, p. 96 Table 1.5).

During the repressive Pinochet dictatorship, the CEM involved women in informal education by making explicit the authoritarian nature of social institutions and private practices, and urging women to actively engage in social and political protest. Following the democratic transition, the CEM argues that democracy will remain superficial in Chile as long as women and other marginalized groups continue to be denied equal rights and opportunities and full citizenship. "Every day we are present to the manifestation of distinct forms of the authoritarianism that impregnates the public and private life of the country, still present after eight years since the recuperation of democracy…*Argumentos* demonstrates how the public authoritarian behaviors nourish everyday experiences, and proposes changing the relationships between the genders in order to break the cycle of the reproduction of authoritarianism" ("Contra la autoridad," 1998).[5]

The CEM also acts as an important interlocutor at both the national and international policy levels. CEM describes their political consulting activities on their webpage:

> "CEM has advised community groups and government policy makers in Chile since its founding and, at the request of international bodies, has consulted on numerous projects elsewhere in the region. In an ongoing program initiated in 1990, CEM has served as consultant to various agencies of the Chilean government, assessing issues, evaluating social programs, conducting research and training, and aiding in the formulation of public policy. Among its other consulting assignments, CEM has both prepared proposals for and evaluated equal opportunities plans in Chile and other Latin American countries." (http://www.cem.cl/eque.htm "About CEM: Consulting," Retrieved November 1, 2001).

The CEM actively carves out space to voice concerns from a gender-centered perspective in the political arena, influencing and appropriating national policy as a dynamic process and a "contested cultural resource" as defined by Sutton and Levinson (2001, p.2). CEM defines public policy as a "relational and negotiated process of negotiation" which would imply the "simplification of reality to think that the government, in assuming the management of the State apparatus, undertakes its own

diagnostics and determines which problems to resolve in terms of public polices. From this perspective, the necessity for compatibility among the sectors and between the sectors and the global, the public policies can be better understood as the processes of social mediation, that have the objective of resolving the incongruities that can arise between one sector and the others" ("Género, Políticas Públicas y Desarrollo," 1994, p. 50).[6] By exercising political agency in the public policy arena, the CEM is ultimately deepening democracy in Chile.

Schumkler and Valenzuela (1998) relate the opportunities for political participation created by the democratic transition, and claimed by the women's organizations, to the quest for social equality. They assert that, "the opening of the political process meant the consolidation of political parties, the development of new political forces and alliances, and new modes of representation. It also meant a process of social democratization—the struggle for equality within private and public institutions, the family, the school, the political parties, the social organizations" (Schumkler and Valenzuela, 1998, p. 69).

The CEM facilitates women's awareness about the inequality of gender roles and statuses in Chile in order to inspire transformative advocacy in personal relationships and society's institutions:

> These inequalities are not attributable to the fact of being born male or female, but are produced through conscious and unconscious processes present in everyday interactions and relationships, in the family, school, university, [and] media. The inequalities that we have identified are expressed concretely in legislation and public policies, which are actions of the State. Therefore, the State is not neutral in the construction of gender relations, and precisely because of this, is in the position to play a very important role in rectifying these inequalities by taking the necessary means to guarantee the equality of opportunities for all citizens, male and female.[7] ("Sobre el género," 1996)

The CEM's discourse reveals how a critical engendered identity naturally leads to critiques of discriminatory public policy and institutions that reproduce social inequalities. Virginia Guzmán, CEM's Director, has argued that a gender perspective "should influence the general policies of each sector to the point that they explicitly include gender equality in their objectives…in this way,

gender-based inequalities would acquire meaning within the objectives of education, health, housing, agrarian, economic, labor, and finance policies, among others" (1995, p.101).[8] I will now explore how the CEM has conceived of gender-based inequalities in the Chilean educational system.

CEM's Critique of Gender-Based Educational Inequalities in Chile

CEM underscores the primary role that formal education plays in socialization, particularly in the formation of children's gender identities, and in conferring opportunities. Specifically, the CEM challenges the ways in which schools reinforce and reproduce gender-based inequalities.

> Education, therefore, is a fundamental instrument for the construction of a genuine democracy that postulates universal criteria and values in the distribution of opportunities and the evaluation of behaviors, and thus, overcomes discrimination derived from differences of ethnicity, race, sex and age. A democracy that recognizes and respects cultural and individual differences. However, our education is very far from fulfilling this function. Until the present, it has played the contradictory role of stimulating the desire for women's independence and development, and at the same time preparing them to assume inferior and less-valued social roles. ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996)[9]

The CEM's recommendations for education reform in Chile call for gender equality in the totality of the educational system—textbooks, pedagogy, teachers' practices, and student behavior. In *Arguments for Change* #4 entitled "Education for Equality," CEM highlights the salient factors that create unequal experiences for girls in schools (1996). First, the CEM critiques the representation of women in textbooks in undervalued and less important roles compared to men by asserting that "the feminine figures in school textbooks are always demonstrating actions that are less complex and important than the male figures…In fact, there are studies that reflect that the treatment of the people in the textbooks show men in the role of protagonist and women in the periphery" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).[10] Second, the CEM argues that teachers' behavior reflect gender-biases as "the unequal treatment of men and women extends itself into school practices that have been documented, showing that the relationship produced in the classroom between the teacher [male or female] and the students vary depending if they are boys or girls," such as amount of time

and attention, encouragement for initiative, disciplinary procedures ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).[11] Third, CEM finds that students reenact gender-based norms in asserting that, "the relationships between students themselves reproduce sexism" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).[12] Further, CEM draws a dismal conclusion: "education has a different individual profitability for men and women" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).[13]

The CEM tackles educational reform as a space for demanding equality in treatment and opportunities.

> Education reform should contemplate the elimination of all forms of discrimination and guarantee an equal distribution of opportunities. For this, we propose:
> - The explicit inclusion of the equality of opportunities for boys and girls in the educational principles and policies.
> - Elimination of sexist figures in teaching and pedagogical materials.
> - Inclusion in the classroom of methodologies and activities that address and educate about discrimination.
> - Support for teachers to eliminate sexist practices through the implementation of conscious-raising and training programs.
> - Consideration for early childhood in education reform, not only to stimulate in an equitable manner the development of girls and boys from infancy, respecting each child's abilities, motivations, and preferences, but also to facilitate their mothers' employment.
> - Devotion of special attention to the risks faced by female students that force them to temporarily desert their education: taking care of younger siblings in their mother's absence and adolescent pregnancies, among others. ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996)[14]

Fundamentally, the CEM's critiques and proposals are based on the desire for a more just, equitable and democratic society, and the analysis that education bears significant influence as a formative social institution. "*Argumentos* is interested in going a step beyond the preoccupation in quality, and in asking what are the elements that the reform should contemplate in order to educate future generations in a non-discriminatory manner; what are the mechanisms that should be redressed within the system in order to achieve a more egalitarian socialization of boys and girls and a more democratic way of life in Chilean society" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).[15]

Conclusion

The CEM embodies how "women-led NGOs and their networks continue to play a central role in social learning through multiple functions: as agents that respond to and solve problems, as important mediators between the state and society, and as articulators of a new social worldview that includes full citizenship" (Stromquist, 2000, p. 94-95). The CEM's commitment to engaging women into an awareness of how gender functions inequitably in Chile through disciplined research and advocacy leads women to personal empowerment and political agency. Ultimately, the CEM facilitates the transformation of personal power relations and social institutions, and ultimately, enriches democracy in Chile.

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[1] Original Spanish text: "El género es una categoria socio-cultural que involucra tanto a hombres como mujeres y los diferencia en terminos de roles y actividades que desarrollan en la sociedad e implica distribución desigual de recursos, autoridad, etc., que da lugar a diferencias en la capacidad de hacer influir en los démas, en las formas de regular y legitimar la toma de decisions en distintos sistemas: familia, comunidad, mercado, política." (Todaro, 1994, p.8)

[2] Original Spanish text: "Desde hace muchos años, [las mujeres] vienen cuestionando el papel que se les atribuye en la sociedad y han logrado colocar sus demandas en el espacio internacional…Hace falta ahora transformar la realidad." ("Sobre el género," 1996).

[3] Original Spanish text: "el feminismo oxigenó las ideas y cuestinó creencias y relaciones opresivas…Mostró que el poder se ejerce no solo desde las instituciones del Estado sino también en las relaciones cotidianas, en los grandes y pequeños espacios sociales" ("Las mujeres," 2000).

[4] Original Spanish text: "potencial transformador de los planteamientos feministas que enriquecen los debates públicos y presionan hacia el cambio de la cultura en un sentido más democrático, justo y libertario" ("Las mujeres," 2000).

[5] Original Spanish text: "Cada día asistimos al espectáculo de distintas formas de autoritarismo que impregnan la vida pública y privada del país, aun a ocho años de haber recuperado el ejercicio democrático…*Argumentos* trata de mostrar cómo los comportamientos autoritarios públicos, se nutren de las experiencias cotidianas. Propone cambiar las relaciones entre los géneros, para romper el círculo de la reproducción del autoritarismo" ("Contra la autoridad," 1998).

[6] Original Spanish text: "la política como proceso de mediación…Sería simplificar la realidad pensar que el gobierno, al asumir el manejo del aparato estatal, realiza sus propios diagnósticos y determina cuáles son los problemas a resolver en terminos de política pública. Desde la perspectiva de la necesidad de compatibilización entre sectores y entre lo sectorial y lo global, las políticas públicas pueden más bien ser entendidas como procesos de mediación social, que tienen como objectivo resolver los desajustes que puedan surgir entre un sector y los demás, o entre un sector y la sociedad global" ("Género, Politicas Publicas y Desarrollo," 1994, p. 50).

[7] Original Spanish text: "Estas desigualdades no se deben al hecho de haber nacido hombre o mujer, sino que se producen a tráves de procesos conscientes e inconscientes, presentes en las relaciones cotidianas, en la familia, en el colegio, en la universidad, en los medios de comunicación. Las desigualdades que hemos señalado, tienen su expresión concreta en la legislación y en las políticas públicas, que son acciones del Estado. Por tanto, el Estado no es neutral en la construcción de las relaciones de género y, precisamente por eso, está en condiciones de jugar un papel muy importante como correctar de desigualdades, tomando las medidas necesarias para garantizar la igualdad de oportunidades a todos los ciudadanos y ciudadanas" ("Sobre el género," 1996).

[8] Original Spanish text: "Debe influir en los lineamientos generales de cada sector a fin que éstos incluyan explícitamente en sus objectivos la equidad de género…De esta manera, las desigualdades genéricas deben adquirir sentido al interior de los objectivos de la política de educación, de salud, de vivienda, agraria, económica, trabajo, hacienda, entre otros" (Guzmán, 1995, p.101).

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[9] Original Spanish text: "La educación es entonces una herramienta fundamental en la construcción de una genuine democracia que postula criterios y valores universales para distribuir oportunidades y evaluar comportamientos, superando de esta manera las discriminaciones derivadas de las diferencias étnicas, raciales, sexuales y generacionales. Una democracia que reconoce y respeta las diferencias de culturas y entre las personas. Sin embargo, nuestra educación está lejos de cumplir esta función. Hasta el presente ha jugado el contradictorio papel de estimular el deseo de independencia y realización de las mujeres a la vez que las prepara en el desempeño de roles socials secundarios, menos valorados." ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996)

[10] Original Spanish text: "Las figuras femininas en los textos escolares realizan siempre papeles más reducidos y de menor trascendencia que los masculinos...En efecto, hay estudios que reflejan que el tratamiento de los personas en los textos de estudio muestran a los hombres en papeles protagónicos y las mujeres en la periferia" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).

[11] Original Spanish text: "Este trato desigual para hombres y mujeres se extiende a las practicas escolares que han sido investigadas, demostrando que la relación que se produce dentro del aula entre el profesor o profesora y sus alumnos cambian según sean niños o niñas" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).

[12] Original Spanish text: "Por otra parte, las propias relaciones entre alumnos y alumnas reproducen el sexismo" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).

[13] Original Spanish text: "A consecuencia de esto, la educación tienen una rentibilidad individual diferente para hombres y mujeres" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).

[14] Original Spanish text: "La reforma educative debe contemplar la eliminación de cualquier discriminación y asegurar una distribución igualitaria de oportunidades. Por ello, planteamos: Que se incluya explícitamente en los principios y lineamientos educativos la igualdad de oportunidades entre niños o niñas. Que se eliminen los rasgos sexistas en los materials didácticos y pedagógicos. Que se incluyen metodologías y dinámicas en el aula que aborden la discriminación y capacitación sobre el tema.Que se apoyen en los esfuerzos del profesorado tendientes a eliminar las prácticas sexistas mediante la implementación de programas de sensibilización y capacitación sobre el tema. Que se considere en la reforma educativa la edad preescolar, no solo para estimular desde la infancia y en forma equitativa a niñas o niños respetando sus habilidades, motivaciones y preferencias, sino también para facilitar el trabajo de sus madres.
Que se preste especial atención a las situaciones de riesgo de las alumnas que las llevan a desertar tempranamente de la educación: atención de hermanos pequeños por ausencia de la madre y embarazos precoces, entre otras." ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996)

[15] Original Spanish text: "A *Argumentos* le interesa ir un paso más adelante para preguntarnos por la calidad, por cúales son los elementos que debe contemplar la reforma para educar a las generaciones futures en la no discriminación; por cúales son los mecanismos que deben ser corregidos en el sistema para lograr que la socialización de niños y niñas sea más igualitaria y contribuye a lograr formas de convivencia más democráticas en la sociedad chilena" ("Educación para la igualdad," 1996).

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